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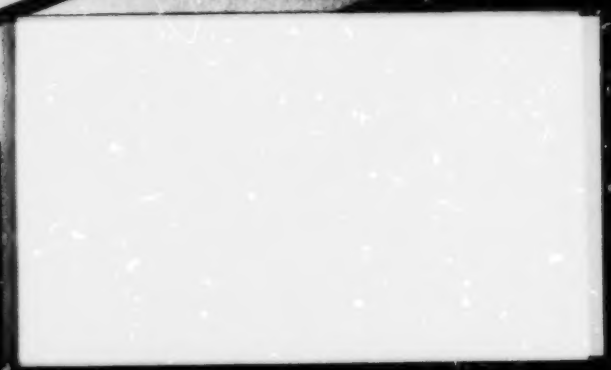

Solicitor General Canada
Ministry Secretariat

DON DUTTON, Ph.D.
and
BRUCE LEVENS

Under the auspices of

UNITED WAY OF THE LOWER MAINLAND
1625 West 8th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
V6J 1T9

CRISIS INTERVENTION TRAINING FOR POLICE

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ABSTRACT

This prescriptive package provides a comprehensive guide for the establishment and continued successful operation of a family crisis intervention training programme for police officers. The compelling reasons for family crisis intervention training are given and a 'how to' guide for establishing such a programme is presented. The package outlines a generalist-procedural training course that takes six days to administer. The course maximizes learning through extensive use of role playing, video tapes, and crisis situation simulations. It covers the nature of domestic conflict, police officer safety during crisis interventions, defusing violence, communication skills, mediation techniques, interviewing, the extent of supportive resources available to police and how to effectively use them.

The package also describes typical resistances to family crisis intervention training. These are rooted in attitudes and beliefs about the "real" nature of police work that are often reinforced by traditional training philosophies; in the organizational structure, reward system and police department bureaucracy which impedes the adoption of a preventive concept of policing; and in fundamental societal attitudes about family violence, male-female relationships, and interference in "private" domestic conflicts.

Finally the package deals with the selection and recruitment of police officers, the training of departmental support staff, and the reward and promotion system necessary to ensure the continued operation of successful crisis intervention by police. Guidelines for internal evaluation of the programme also are presented.

SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT TRAINING

Since about 1966, police departments in North America have begun to shift from the traditional, law enforcement-oriented police model towards a more service-oriented police role. One of the catalysts (and consequences) of this shift has been an increasing emphasis on "conflict management"[1]. Prior to 1966, no police departments in North America provided special training in conflict management techniques;[2] by 1969 almost every large department in North America (and many smaller ones) provided such training, albeit with varying degrees of expertise and understanding of the nature of such conflict.

Conflict management, in its narrowest sense, means the management of domestic disputes between persons connected either through affection or housing location or both; in its broadest sense it means situations where two citizens experience a conflict of interest (real or imagined), such as in landlord-tenant disputes or merchant-customer disputes. Conflict management situations straddle the police responses of order maintenance and law enforcement. Usually it is unclear to a police officer answering a "conflict" call whether or not there is evidence of a clear cut violation of a well defined law-- which would require the arrest of an offending citizen--or whether there will be an opportunity to pacify one or more angry citizens and to suggest a strategy for reducing the possibility of a re-occurrence of the conflict.

Conflict management training is designed to improve a police officer's ability to distinguish between these two situations and to take the proper course of action. It broadens the officer's repertoire of trained responses.

The successful implementation of a conflict management training programme requires a thorough understanding of police reluctance to get involved in "family fights". As a prerequisite for effective attitude change on the part of recruits, experienced officers and management personnel, such resistance must be met squarely and openly in the training programme and at the organizational level. Failure to do so may result in a "public relations" response to crisis intervention: the department does not support it fully at the training level, and directives on crisis intervention are only weakly supported at the mid-management level, preventing effective implementation of new policies.

A variety of conflict-management training models exist. These have been reviewed elsewhere.[3] Some cities (such as London, Ontario and Regina, Saskatchewan) have emergency specialists who handle domestic crisis calls. Vancouver has a "Car 86" which performs a similar service. Such special "flying squads" usually operate 24 hours per day and provide a special co-ordinated police-social service resource for their respective communities. However, smaller communities can rarely afford such special service, and in larger communities, family dispute calls are so frequent that a single special squad rarely can answer all of them.

This prescriptive package describes the "generalist" training model, with only passing comment on the specialist models. The generalist model, whereby each police officer is trained to a minimum standard in conflict management skills, is considered by many experts to be the most workable. Levens (1977)[4] reports that of 21 police departments in the U.S. and Canada who reported on their conflict management training systems, 17 had opted for the generalist approach.

SECTION TWO

REASONS FOR FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

Perhaps the two most important reasons are public demand and the prevention of violence. Crisis intervention programmes also have positive, pragmatic results for police departments, in that they reduce the time spent on conflict management calls and promote greater safety for the attending officers.

Public Demand

In family disputes, especially where the use of force is a possibility, there is only one agency, the police, to which the public turn. The police are available for 24 hours every day, with an excellent response time and the legal authority, if need be, to remove an offending party. Most calls for police intervention occur when other agencies are closed.[5] Even if a special "flying squad" of crisis intervenors exists, it is rarely able to answer all demands for domestic dispute service. The police are more numerous, and, given the incidence of violence (or potential for violence) in these situations, have the requisite legal authority and expertise to handle these confrontations.

Conflict management training is intended to teach police some techniques for reducing the likelihood of future violence. These techniques (such as mediation and referral to appropriate social agencies) do not involve the criminal justice system; in fact, they are designed to divert potentially violent people outside of the justice system by dealing with their conflicts before the stage of violence is reached.

Proper intervention in family disputes can serve the objective of reducing violent crime. Over half of all homicides and assaults occur in domestic situations. Statistics Canada reports

that in 1977, for Canada as a whole, 32 per cent of homicides were domestic (meaning immediate family) and another 33 per cent of homicides resulted from lovers' quarrels, love trianges, fights between close or casual acquaintances or people in business relationships. (In other words, precisely the kind of situation the police are called upon to attend.)[6] By dealing effectively and efficiently with domestic disputes at an early stage of conflict, police can enhance their objective of reducing violent crime.

A preventive policing model is presented here. The techniques of preventive policing do not normally involve legal-system solutions, incarceration or the use of force. They rely instead on persuasion, problem analysis, support and understanding. Preventive police work is defined not so much through what police do (e.g., make arrests, be on patrol) but by what the outcomes or goals of their activities are (e.g., reducing the amount of violent crime in their jurisdiction). Talking to people in conflict, rather than simply making after-the-fact arrests, frees the police officer from a narrowly defined, procedure-oriented role into a more broadly based role as a professional with a wide variety of skills to offer the community.[7]

Less Police Time Spent on Calls-Back

The Kansas City study and other[8] research findings suggest a very pragmatic outcome of effective family dispute intervention. If short term solutions are used in early interventions by police, much police time can be spent on repeat calls. In the long run, effective intervention training can result in more permanent solutions to family conflicts and in less police time spent on repeat calls.

Increased Safety of Officers

Proper training reduces the likelihood of violence, and injuries to police officers, during dispute intervention. (Several studies cite the danger of family disputes for officers.[9,10,11,12].) The decreased likelihood of police injury and of violence being directed to police officers as a result of proper dispute intervention training[13,14,15] provides a sufficient reason for instituting that training.

To sum up, police involvement in domestic disputes is a fact of their existence as order maintenance and law enforcement officers. Domestic crisis intervention training can reduce the time spent on such calls, provide more efficient and effective techniques to handle the problems safely, and through the employment of good diversionary and preventive tactics perhaps reduce the level of violence in the community.

SECTION THREE

HOW TO ESTABLISH A FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION TRAINING WORKSHOP

Types of Programmes

The first necessity in establishing family crisis intervention training for police is to decide upon the kind of programme wanted. Do we want to train a small group of police officers with good verbal skills as a special squad for handling family calls or do we want to train everybody? Do we want procedural training that gives police a set of procedures to use or do we want attitudinal training that is "personal growth oriented?" Fortunately these varieties have been tried by others, so use can be made of their experiences.

Bard[16] trained the New York Police Department using a specialist-attitudinal model, based on the notion of changing the officer's personal attitudes through insights obtained in workshop sessions. Liebman and Schwartz,[17] however, point out that such training took 160 hours to accomplish, could not be assimilated into the recruit training programme, and resulted in a small group of trained specialists (18 men) who could handle only a small percentage of family calls. This particular training increased the amount of time spent on one call, created a "dependency" relationship with families whereby police would be called back in a social work capacity whenever conflicts arose, and resulted in the referral of more calls (75% of all domestic calls) than social agencies could handle.

In contrast to "specialist" training programmes, the generalist-procedural approach which Liebman and Schwartz used in Richmond, California, has been used in a variety of other departments[18] and has a number of advantages.

(1) Generalist-procedural training programmes train entire departments, so that any police officer handling any domestic call has the requisite skills to do a good job.

(2) The procedural emphasis establishes a training system that fits quite well into other police training--providing a set of skills and procedures for domestic disputes which make trainees more receptive than if training was attitudinal or growth-oriented. Police trainees are usually extremely practical and want specific steps to take in situations they are being trained to handle.

(3) Procedural training is less likely than attitudinal training to meet resistance for being too "social work"-oriented.

(4) Procedural training requires less hours in class and is thus better suited to in-service training. In-service training can do much to reduce discrepant perspectives between recruits and experienced officers and remove one source of resistance to innovative programmes. Many experienced officers in the Vancouver force had extremely negative feelings about the family crisis training programme before their in-service training. Many stated that their negative feelings changed as a result of being given the opportunity to understand the goals and perspectives of the programme.

(5) Generalist training minimizes the use of outside consultants. Psychologists are necessary only to help establish the training programme. They may be used to do some actual training or to train police trainers (see below).

(6) Providing concrete procedures for police training can facilitate subsequent attitude change. Officers who learn how to handle a domestic dispute effectively will feel more in control and less apprehensive about this type of work.[19] This can be used as a basis for further expansion of police role-skills, supported by departmental policy.

(7) Generalist training does not set family dispute intervention apart from regular police work but confronts the reality that every police officer will at various times in his career be called upon to handle such calls.

Who gets Trained and When?

All police officers should be trained. The best time to train officers is after they have some limited street experience with a field trainer. This establishes for them the difficulty of police domestic dispute intervention and increases their receptivity to the training.

In-service training should proceed as quickly and fully as the training establishment can handle. Crisis intervention techniques should not be viewed as some "new-fangled" police academy gimmick that only new recruits are learning. Also, assigning "trained" recruits to "untrained" superior officers creates a situation in which the recruit has to obey his superior and may not be able to use the training received.

To facilitate departmental support, it helps to include as many middle-managers as soon as possible in training programmes. This lets them see what the programme is about, gives an opportunity for them to air their opinions and improves the chance that the programme will gain their approval. The more direct influence an experienced officer has over both recruits and general implementation of policy, the sooner he should receive exposure to new training programmes. Command personnel who are not consulted about the implementation of new programmes may resist and undermine the effectiveness of those programmes. Experience in at least four cities shows this to be true for crisis intervention training.[20]

Who does the Training?

Civilians who serve as police trainers run some risk of increasing police resistance to the content of a training session. Police officers may resent "being told how to do their job by someone who is not a police officer". Usually this form of resistance is accompanied by requests for information about little-known police procedures which the civilian cannot know about, in an attempt to discredit or undercut the civilian's expertise. Other strategies might involve personal attacks on the civilian's appearance (e.g., hair length), attitudes (e.g., to death penalty), habits (e.g, suspected use of marijuana), etc. Most of these are attempts to separate the civilian from the police and establish police solidarity and resistance to the programme, by attacking the trainer.

Civilian trainers should directly confront these issues. Attempts to sidetrack opposition may result in grievances not being aired, and this may adversely affect acceptance of programme goals. Civilian/police training teams can be useful in this respect, but only when the personal credibility of the police trainers is high. This can be facilitated if the police academy staff introduce the programme, and the instructors provide a departmental endorsement for the training. (Civilian trainers probably will become more commonplace as the necessity to get outside perspectives on police work is increasingly recognized.)

The V.P.D. crisis intervention programme was initially taught by a team of civilians, which in time became a "mixed" team of civilians and police officers. This approach has the following advantages:

(1) Civilian professional expertise can be maximized at the beginning of the programme.

(2) Police trainers can learn training techniques from the civilian professionals.

(3) The police trainers will, with experience, become self-sufficient, making the civilian professionals expendable and reducing the costs of the training establishment.

(4) Police trainers are present at all times, first as introducers and then as participants, to lend constant credibility to civilian trainers.

Both civilian and police trainers should be assertive, able to "think on their feet," and have good classroom presence. Civilians should always be as familiar as possible with police practice and procedure and should have gained some first hand experience by "riding along" in a patrol car.[21] Police personnel

ideally should have a minimum of five years experience, a good promotion record, and represent an ideal role model for recruits. In addition, a B.A. or better in social science (preferably psychology) should be required.

The Cost of Training

There will be variations in costs from area to area and over time. However, the following types of expenditure should be taken into consideration:

(1) Fees for a consultant to establish the programme--preferably a social scientist with previous experience in this type of training model. Where an existing programme is adapted for local use, trainers can become proficient and the programme can be established in a month or less.

(2) The purchase and adaptation of training manuals available at small cost from existing programmes.

(3) Obtaining video training tapes that can be copied, usually for a minimal fee. Where this is not possible or appropriate, tapes should be locally produced. This can be an expensive, but is nonetheless a very important training item.

(4) Recurring costs, such as fees if non-police personnel are used as trainers, and the cost of actors for simulations.

Cost-benefit analyses of such programmes suggest that most police departments cannot afford to be without them. This is true simply in terms of the increased safety for attending police (not one officer was injured in a domestic dispute in Vancouver in the first four years of the programme), and the saving on repeat calls to the same address where effective interventions are initially made.

The Training Package

The six-day British Columbia training programme covered a variety of issues related to dispute intervention and provided a concrete six-step procedure for handling domestic disputes. Classroom lecturing was kept to a minimum and trainee participation, role playing, video tapes and simulations were used as much as possible to maximize learning in the 36-hour period.

The training was procedure-oriented in that the behavioural objectives required demonstrated mastery of the intervention techniques (outside safety, interior safety, defusing, interviewing, mediation and referral). Each step was presented by means of course notes, followed by video tapes which showed incorrect and then correct procedures. Each tape was shown twice after discussion of the course notes. First, the tape was played through from beginning to end without interruption. Then it was played through with "stop actions" built into the tape. These were important in showing certain crucial police behaviour which led to a particular outcome of that intervention. Hence, trainees could "see" how difficult situations could be successfully controlled.[22]

Practice sessions established or consolidated each procedural step before moving on to the next. As each new step was learned, previous ones were reviewed so that trainees gradually developed a sequential repertoire of skills, and the opportunity for maximum practice was provided.

These procedures were the core of the dispute intervention workshop. The theoretical material included:

(1) An overview of domestic crisis intervention: who calls the police and why? What do the police do? What reluctance do police have to respond to family crisis calls? Why should such calls be police business?

(2) Theory of domestic violence: what is the incidence and seriousness of domestic violence? Why does violence occur between intimates?

(3) Personal attitudes: how can an officer's attitudes and relationship with his/her spouse affect the handling of domestic calls?

(4) What are the sources of stress for police on domestic calls? How can stress be reduced? What are realistic expectations for a successful intervention?

(5) What constitutes "child abuse"? What should the officer look for if he/she suspects child abuse? What should the officer do?

(6) What special crisis intervention problems occur with respect to minority communities (local ethnic, racial and sexual minorities?) How do an official's attitudes affect the handling of such calls?

(7) What community resources exist to help police with crisis intervention? How can the officer find out more about such resources? How can the officer establish working relationships with other professionals? What should the officer expect from them? What should they expect from the officer? How do differing philosophies affect police--social agency relationships?

(8) What does the officer expect from his/her job? What are the officer's goals? What makes the officer feel that he/she has done a good job? How does crisis intervention relate to the officer's goals as a police officer?

(9) What can the individual reasonably expect from this course? What can it do or not do for the individual officer?

Although the emphasis is on correct intervention procedures, the workshop goes beyond rote skill-training. It was found that skill training was very much wanted by trainees, and this fact was used to advantage to tie the whole package into the rest of police education and to get trainees to explore the important attitudinal issues suggested in the foregoing questions.

Course Syllabus: An Overview

DAY ONE

Morning: Introduction of Teaching Team
Overview of the course:

Rationale for Workshop	Who calls police and why? What do the police do? Why are the police reluctant to respond to domestic calls? Why are such calls police business?
Theory of Domestic Violence	What is the incidence and seriousness of domestic violence? Why do intimates fight?
Course Goals	The goals and objectives of the crisis intervention training programme.

Afternoon: Intervention procedures: Steps I, II & III:
Safety, or Looking out for Number One

Step I: Outside Safety - approach procedures
(Notes and video tapes).

Step II: Interior Safety - entry to premises
(Notes, video tapes, and practice session).
Related Topic: Nonverbal communication
(Lecture and demonstrations).

Step III: Defusing - how to "cool out the enraged beast."
(Notes, video tapes, and practice session).

Recap - Steps I, II & III (practice session).

DAY TWO

Morning: Intervention procedures (continued):

Step IV: Communication Skills and Interview Techniques
(Demonstrations: overbearing, indirect communications; interviews vs. interrogations).

Control techniques:
- "shutting down the loudmouth."
- "opening up the scared party."
(Notes and demonstrations).

Recap - Steps I, II, III & IV
(Notes, video tapes and practice sessions)

Related Topic:
- The impact of personal attitudes and the officer's own relationship with his/her spouse on the "neutrality" of the interview situation.

- The "games people play" on police in such situations; e.g., the "buddy" game, the "big brother" game, the "white knight" game, "turning the tables", and "recruiting".

Afternoon: Decision Point: Where to go from here, or how to clear a call based on the results of the interview. Should the officer arrest, mediate, refer, leave, warn, or what?

Arrest in domestic violence cases: some guidelines.

Step V: Mediation Techniques: How to bring the parties closer to resolution.
Related Topic: General Theory of Conflict Management.

Recap - Steps I to V
(Notes, video tapes and practice sessions)

DAY THREE

Morning: Intervention procedures (continued):

Step VI: Referrals to Social Agencies: How to accomplish "good referrals", how to increase the likelihood that citizens will visit the agency, "foot in the door" techniques for referrals.
(Notes, video tapes and practice sessions)

Recap - Steps I to VI (practice sessions)

Afternoon: Social Agencies and Other Community Resources:
- What resources are available to police?
- How to find out.
- How to establish working relationships with community resources.

DAY FOUR Special Topics

Morning and
Afternoon : 1. Violence in Minority Communities
- How attitudes affect professional dealings with minority groups.
- The nature of prejudice (experiential exercise).
- How do various minority groups view the police?

(This part of the course may include guest speakers from the various minority groups).

- Verbal and non-verbal communication problems with minorities

DAY FIVE

Morning: Special Topics (continued):

2. Child Abuse
- How to recognize it
- What to do about it

(This part of the course may include guest presentations from a local hospital child abuse team or similar body.)

Afternoon: Special Topics (continued):

3. Legal Issues

- What are police rights and obligations with respect to entry to premises and arrest?
- What cross-examination might be expected from defense counseil and how should such cross-examination be answered?

Course Review and Wrap-up

- Summary and overview of training
- What might be expected from the course in the long term; evaluation studies of the course

Open forum: final reactions from trainees

THE COURSE

1. Day One

The course begins with the introduction of the entire teaching team. The credibility of the team and the workshop content can be enhanced by having this done by the academy director or another police officer. During the first morning it is extremely important to set the rationale for the workshop, to deal with trainee resistance to crisis intervention, to give an introduction to the nature of domestic violence, and to provide an overview of the course and what it is hoped will be achieved.

First, the rationale for the workshop is established by answering the four questions listed in the syllabus overview:

1) Who calls police and why?
2) What do the police do?
3) Why are the police reluctant to respond to domestic calls?
4) Why are such calls police business?

The presentation proceeds with a few statements about domestic crisis calls and continues by drawing out the trainees' perceptions of the "domestic" calls that they experienced during field training. By demonstrating acceptance and understanding of any negative feelings the trainees may express, an open atmosphere is established and receptiveness to the content of the workshop is increased. This is also facilitated by strong expressions of sympathy with police reluctance to handle crisis calls. Trainees often display astonishment at the frankness of the teaching team in its willingness to express positions which run counter to the goals of the workshop, but studies conducted at Yale University after World War II demonstrated that more attitude change can be achieved if speakers, facing audiences likely to be unsympathetic to their position, make opening statements which agree with the audience's view. (Marc Antony's funeral oration in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar is a prime example of this factor).

As the course rationale is developed, the instructors look for resistance among the recruits. Who is not saying anything? Why? Who is smirking and making asides? Who subtly shakes his head in disbelief at something said? It is crucial to identify these signs of resistance, but at the same time to avoid bullying or "centering out" a trainee. In addition to a clear presentation of the argument for police crisis intervention, three qualities are essential for this first morning: honesty, sensitivity and a sense of humour.

To a certain extent the rationale has been covered in sections 2 and 5 of this prescriptive package. By combining this information with selected original materials (see bibliography) an instructor can develop his own content for this part of the workshop.

Teaching proceeds with the theory of domestic violence--addressed by the findings on incidence, reasons for and causes of violence. The assembly of this material probably requires the aid of a psychologist-consultant, preferably one who is skilled in counselling, crisis intervention and the development of teaching programmes. Contacting the educational psychology faculty at the local university can be a first step towards locating the right person for the job.

The first morning session is completed by stating and explaining the goals and objectives of the course. The recruits should know exactly what is expected of them, and they should be asked to reveal what they expect from the course. Finally, the grading systems are discussed with trainees. In British Columbia written short-answer tests were used daily, a written examination on knowledge of procedures was administered, and a behavioural check list to grade trainee performance during simulated crisis calls was constructed.

The six procedural steps are begun on the first afternoon and continue during days Two and Three, using much the same techniques. First, the course notes are reviewed with recruits; then video tapes which demonstrate correct and incorrect procedures for each particular step of the intervention are viewed. Incorrect procedures are usually shown once straight through without stop, asking trainees to point out the mistakes they see being made, and then shown again with a "stop action" on the tape. The stop action is a crucial feature which allows the instructor to point out subtle differences in technique that can have profound

effects on the outcome of the intervention. It is particularly useful for interior safety and "defusing" procedures, where recruits are taught about proxemics, personal spacing and non-verbal communication. The tapes allow instructors to demonstrate the origin and development of iatrogenic violence (i.e., violence provoked by the police officers in the course of their intervention).

The Video Tapes

Professional actors and a taping crew were used in the production of twelve family crisis intervention sequences (six demonstrating correct procedures and six incorrect). Scripts were written by the consultant psychologist. Each sequence was designed to:

(a) demonstrate important procedural steps,

(b) demonstrate the results of such steps,

(c) serve as a basis for attitudinal issues (e.g., that family fights are about jealousy, infidelity, finances, abortion, etc.) and involve (in some sequences) minority group members. The underlying reason for the conflict was not made immediately obvious; in fact, the citizens lead the officers through a maze of various "games" such as the "buddy" game, the "white knight" game, the "big brother" game and "recruiting". (See morning, Day Two, related topic "the games people play").

In the incorrect procedure tapes the plays often work, but in the correct procedure tapes, trainees are shown how to identify and avoid these traps. Correct and incorrect procedure tapes often start with similar or identical situations so that

trainees can see how the outcome changes through police handling. The video tapes are a crucial aspect of the learning experience and can be constructed so as to aid learning at several different levels.

2. Day Two

Day Two of the course begins with training in communication skills and interview techniques. This section of the course is more difficult to grasp, especially if the trainee is young and lacking in self-confidence and general verbal ability. However, if properly handled, even such a trainee will gradually establish some basic skills in this area. Demonstrations are used of overbearing communications (where one party totally controls the situation and does not give the other a chance to speak) and indirect communications (where one party does not clearly communicate what he/she wants, or take responsibility for his/her own statements). These are presented in a general assertiveness training format.[23]

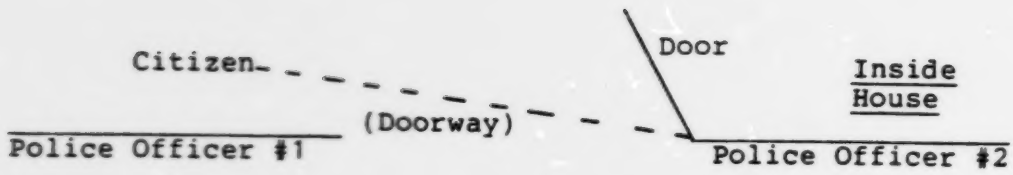
A "team teaching" approach is used, with two teachers in the classroom at any given time. If one teacher is lecturing, the other can set up video tapes, identify questions that the lecturer may miss, and be generally attuned to signs of resistance or boredom. Teachers should confer during rest-periods regarding strategy for the next in-class session. When different people are used to teach different parts of a workshop (as many as six specialists--two psychologists, two social workers and two police officers--were teaching in the Vancouver six-day workshop) a "new" person coming on in the afternoon should teach with someone who had been teaching that morning. This helps continuity and general organization.

In the interviewing and communication skills section of the intervention procedures, in addition to teaching skills, the trainees' attitudes are probed. It is important to make clear to trainees that to the extent that they are unaware of their own attitudes they will be susceptible to manipulation by citizens who play out a variety of "games" on them, and that the instructors are not going to criticize them for their attitudes, but simply show them how a particular attitude can interfere with their performance (especially with regard to remaining neutral during a crisis call). It should be noted that open-ended requests to "explore feelings" do not get very far in a police academy atmosphere. Starting with a procedure, showing the games that people will play to throw officers off the track and then showing how the officers' own attitudes can unconsciously play into the hands of a manipulative citizen, provides a good rationale and basis for attitudinal exploration that trainees would not otherwise risk.

Course Notes

Detailed course notes should be compiled by the consultant for distribution to trainees. The notes should describe background and objectives and then review, in systematic fashion coordinated with the video tapes, the intervention procedures that will be covered in the course.

A 50-page set of notes were written for the Vancouver training, based on 21 other family crisis intervention syllabi and the personal experiences of the trainers.[24] The notes go into considerable detail on each procedural step. Each step is presented as a type of "tight rope" situation where an officer can err by going too far in either direction. For example, being overbearing can make an distraught citizen feel invaded; being unassertive can cost an officer control of a situation. In the notes, wherever possible, graphic detail should be used. For example, the procedure dealing with entry was shown as follows:



Police officer #2 is shown as having visual access into a house, and thus can serve as a cover for Police officer #1, who should enter first.

Other points covered in detail include adaptation to the dark, "sitting duck" moves, proper positioning inside a house, personal spacing, confrontation techniques from "light" to "heavy", appropriate force, legal rights, psychology of the citizen in these situations, establishing rapport, interviewing techniques for maintaining control, general theory of conflict management, listening responses, paraphrasing, perception checks, open ended questions, mediation techniques, neutrality, argument or "fight" styles, fair fight techniques, "edge of the wedge" questions for referrals, and specific procedural techniques and examples for each of the six procedural steps.

Day Two, in the afternoon, continues with the decision point, or what the officer should do to clear a domestic call, based on the information received and following the intervention procedures. The use of arrest is dealt with at this point in the training. Perhaps no other aspect of handling domestic disputes is more controversial than police use of arrest against the assailant. Here the course confronts the arguments for and against arrest, pointing out that it can be seen as a drain on police resources (officer time in arresting and court appearances), that many victims drop charges, that it is difficult to determine blame in some cases, and that it is seen by many police as a simplistic approach that can in fact increase the danger for police by aggravating an already volatile and difficult situation.

The argument firmly presented in the training is that arrest in certain circumstances is a highly appropriate response and that the use of reconciliation and mediation intervention skills is inappropriate in cases involving serious injury, repeated abuse, violation of restraining orders, or the use of a deadly weapon. Trainees are made aware of a number of guidelines for the use of arrest, drawn from other jurisdictions.[25]

It is important that formal police policies articulate when and in what circumstances arrest is appropriate. The course should provide guidelines in accord with this policy, that guide the officers' use of discretion, emphasize flexibility for special cases, and ensure consistent treatment over the majority of interventions.

The course proceeds during Day Two with mediation techniques. Here the police officer is serving as a "conflict reducer" by remaining neutral and attempting to bring parties in conflict closer together. In family conflicts, people usually attempt to convince friends and relatives that they are the "wronged" parties in a dispute. To the extent that each party wins support from well-meaning friends, he or she will become more convinced than ever that he or she is right, and become more opposed to the party with whom he or she is in conflict. The long-term result is that the parties are less likely to resolve their difficulties. By remaining neutral and not encouraging either party's personal version of reality, intervening officers can alter this process.

At the same time, in using communication techniques the officer serves a teaching function. Officers ought never to offer solutions to citizens (solutions suggested from without rarely are followed), but rather should help citizens to arrive at their own solutions. This returns the responsibility for conflict resolution to the disputants.

3. Day Three

Some disputes (especially between spouses) require long-term solutions and are not amenable to mediation. On Day Three (morning), referral procedures teach recruits how to refer citizens to social agencies in such a way that the likelihood of the citizen following through on the long-term counselling significantly increases. Procedures involve "foot-in-the-door" questions to elicit agreement from citizens that they do have a problem, do not want it to continue, and would be agreeable to some free help.[26]

Both mediation and referral techniques pay special attention to the "politics of intervention", i.e., the importance of neutrality from both a psychological point of view and the point of view of what will maximize the outcome of the intervention for police and citizens. Referral techniques are followed by a session on social agencies that teaches trainees how to find out what resources exist in their own community to support them on crisis calls. These resources can vary from a complete Social Agency Directory (as in Vancouver) to a parish priest in a small town. Trainees are taught how to establish working relationships with local social workers and agencies and what to expect by way of support. (See below--Police and Social Service Agencies).

4. Day Four

Day Four is devoted entirely on an understanding of the origin and dynamics of prejudice and discrimination. The particular nature of police prejudice, and prejudice towards (or against) the police also is covered. Two experiential exercises are used as necessary additions to the lecture. One of these is a technique for exploring prejudice with people, the other divides the trainees into two groups (coloured t-shirts can be used to facilitate this process) and provides each group with a

task to perform. Game rules can be altered so that the groups come into conflict or power imbalance, and the resulting experiences are used as bases for discussion.

Police prejudices, discovered partially through the in-class exercises and partially through independent assessment, are explored, and police are shown how these affect their role performance. Specifically, police are shown how their job often precludes contact with minority groups except under circumstances in which the group looks "bad", and how the lack of self-correcting contact contributes to the establishment of prejudice. Visits from representatives of various minorities may increase the trainees' understanding of minority communities. The results of such visits in Vancouver have been mixed: on some occasions exceptional "breakthroughs" in terms of insight into reciprocal stereotypes have occurred. At other times the results have been counterproductive. (Representatives of the homosexual community were the objects of considerable hostility from trainees and became increasingly defensive.) Finally, this section of the course pays special attention to police intervention in family disputes in minority communities, emphasizing family power structure, background information on the particular minority group, and special cultural rules that the police should know.

5. Day Five

On Day Five two further special topics are introduced. The first, child abuse, often is discovered by police in the course of a family dispute call. Police are taught to look for specific injuries to children and what to do if they suspect child abuse. Usually, a representative of the "Child Abuse Team" from the Child Welfare Department or hospital provides material for this section.

The second special topic deals with legal issues. Instructors establish the legal rights of police in entering a premise if they suspect an assault, what they must do according to the law, and how they should give evidence in court. Some illustrative "cross-examinations" in this section are used to simulate court procedures.

The day is concluded with a review and overview, including an analysis of what the course is likely to do for the trainees in handling real disputes. These data are based on an evaluation of the course impact on police in real disputes. This is done in order to give trainees as realistic a set of expectations as possible about what the course impact will be on them and what their goals should be in dispute intervention. Unrealistic goals can be a source of personal stress when they are not attained.

6. Day Six

The course concludes on Day Six with simulations which are both an evaluation and practice opportunity. These two functions, it should be pointed out, are somewhat contradictory from a teaching point of view and trainers may want to place more emphasis on one than on the other. The simulations enacted in Vancouver took place in a mock apartment suite with a video tape camera located unobtrusively in one corner (a blanket was placed in front of the camera leaving space only for the lens). Trainees had to approach and enter the suite and demonstrate proper use of the procedures taught in the workshop. Disputants, played by hired actors, engaged in simulated physical fights through the use of foam rubber bats.

As each pair of trainees intervened, their intervention was shown live to other trainees while an instructor pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of their method. After each intervention the trainees who had just participated were shown their

entire intervention on another monitor (recorded on cassettes). A behavioural checklist was used to analyse the entire intervention (Appendix 3), which can form the basis for evaluation if desired.

A variety of dispute scenarios were used (Appendix 2). These were written so as to elicit many of the issues brought out in the course and actors were coached in the forms of obfuscation that citizens sometimes use. Actors can usually be obtained by contacting a local acting school. It was found advantageous to develop a small pool of actors who are familiar with the workshop objectives and who can react accordingly. In general actors were trained to react to their instincts about how the officer's behaviour made them feel (e.g., crowded, angry, calm, etc.).

If the interventions are not performed competently the trainee team should repeat until satisfactory or else receive an unsatisfactory grade. Using the simulations as evaluation devices presents some problems, however. One is that "evaluation anxiety" is very high and does not psychologically match the anxiety trainees might feel in a real intervention. Evaluation anxiety results in acute self-consciousness and a tendency to show what has been learned (even mediation and referral procedures) when they are not required by the particular scenario. This tendency to "help a little old lady across the street whether she wants to go or not" is understandable under the circumstances and should be noted in advance by trainers.

At the end of each simulation the video tape is reviewed with the trainees. By comparing their performance with the standards developed during the course, their strengths and weaknesses can be pointed out to them. Often non-verbal habits are the most difficult to alter. The video feedback is a useful first step in this regard. If weaknesses are discovered, for example, in interviewing or conflict resolution, trainees are asked how they

would change their behaviour in future situations. Clearly inadequate performances will be repeated in different scenarios and the process of review and correction can be repeated.

In conclusion it should be noted that on occasion trainees commit errors in simulations. In Vancouver, examples were recorded of trainees who generated violence in a script that was intended to be peaceful--an example both of Bard's concept of iatrogenic violence and of how role plays can take on a reality all their own.

7. Police and Social Service Agencies

Domestic crisis intervention training enlarges the police officer's skilled response to the spectrum of social problems he is expected to handle without (if the procedural model outlined above is adopted) committing the police to a social work role. However, it is a cornerstone of the training programme that good cooperation must be established between police officer and social worker, and between law enforcement and social agency systems.

Models of police-social agency cooperation for the effective long-term solution to domestic disputes vary considerably. What will work harmoniously in one community may not work elsewhere because of size, tradition, personality or system orientation. In general, the bridge-building between systems can be enhanced by teaching police officers the factors associated with good referrals to social agencies, and by encouraging liaison between police departments and social service networks. These prescriptions for successful working relationships are based on an appraisal of many U.S. examples and several different methods currently in use in Canada, notably in Greater Vancouver.[27]

SECTION FOUR

DEPARTMENTAL SUPPORT FOR FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

Police Departments should make certain that the special skills acquired by recruits in crisis intervention training programmes not be lost upon return to street policing. This could require changes in recruitment and selection policies, in the training of telephone operators, in performance evaluation, and in support and reward systems.

Recruitment and Selection

Police departments should begin active recruitment, advertising policing as a "person-profession." The avoidance of active recruiting on the grounds that police departments already get more applications than they need overlooks the quality, background and orientation of the applicants and can result in a stagnant department. Applicants should perhaps be required to pass more stringent criteria for demonstration of interpersonal skills in line with the professional police orientation implied and stated throughout this package.

Recruitment advertising should be directed at countering media stereotypes about police work. The total police role should be illustrated, not just the "cops and robbers" mystique. To change an organization through personnel change alone is arduous, time-consuming and not, of itself, a prescription for success. The organization is at least as likely to change the personnel as they are likely to change the police department. Hence, careful recruitment and selection should be seen as a necessary precondition for departmental innovation.

Training of Communications Operators

The training of communications operators ("com-ops") also is important. The personnel who answer calls from citizens and the dispatchers who alert patrol cars need to be taught what information is necessary for police handling of domestic disputes.[28] The following information (at least) should be obtained and relayed in a precise and succinct manner:

(1) Who made the call and how many persons are present.

(2) Where the call is made from and whether the offender is on the scene.

(3) Whether the assault is in progress or threatened (i.e., the violence potential of the situation).

(4) Whether a weapon is involved, available, mentioned or suspected.

(5) The emotional state of the disputants or caller--calm, agitated, upset, or hysterical.

This involves at least one day of training. New personnel must receive comparable training. Efficient intervention begins with proper intake of information.

Performance Evaluation

A crisis intervention programme which places importance on defusing, mediation and referral as techniques to divert violence-prone families away from the criminal justice system cannot rely on rewards for officers based on the intake of people into that system. This means evaluating officers on the quality of their referrals, the reduction in repeat calls, changes in

assault statistics (both on officers and between disputing parties) and the nature of complaints and commendations. All these are indicative of the broader criteria of communication skills, work quality, judgment, knowledge of the community, flexibility, crime prevention and decision making.[29] Appropriate observation of these skills by patrol supervisors suggests that supervisors pay close attention not only to crime calls but to other calls for service.

Reward Systems

Promotion and reward should follow clearly from the performance evaluation used, otherwise role conflict, confusion, dissatisfaction and lowered morale will probably occur. Police officers should be rewarded not only for bravery but for exceptional sensitivity, community service and ability to defuse potential violence. While these qualities often are difficult to measure, they are worthy of attention and should be upgraded and recognized if police are to be comfortable with their total role. Interpersonal skills are necessary in all aspects of police work, even in investigations by detectives, yet these skills are rarely considered as a criterion for promotion.

Management

Management is the most important organizational process. Management sets the tone of the organization and controls the resources which mould it. Techniques which require flexibility and professional judgment (e.g., intervention techniques) are incompatible with rigid management structures. Hence, paramilitary organizational structures tend not to be conducive to the operation of domestic dispute intervention programmes. Decentralized management (including team policing, peer reviews and peer panels) is more promising in terms of organizing police departments for crisis intervention programmes.

Crisis intervention programmes must fully involve all levels of management. Support and cooperation must be enlisted; managers should be consulted and briefed on proposed changes, and their opinions should be considered. They must believe that they have some control over the implementation of new programmes. In addition, management personnel must be shown that organizational change, with an emphasis on decentralization and a full service police model, is necessary if crisis intervention programmes are to have their fullest possible effect.

SECTION FIVE

RESISTANCE TO FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

Police resistance to a full service commitment in domestic disputes arises from three main sources:

a) job related beliefs, values and attitudes;

b) bureaucratic-managerial resistance within the force;

c) general societal beliefs, values and attitudes.

In establishing a new training programme in domestic conflict management, special attention should be paid to changing (a) and (b) and making officers aware, at least, of (c).

General Job-Related Factors

Probably the most difficult officer to "reach" is the traditional officer who has done his job a certain way for a number of years and whose personal experience has resulted in a fixed focus on "how to do police work". This officer may view family dispute calls extremely negatively, as a "no-win" situation where any

response short of arrest, or cooling down the situation and giving a warning, is a waste of time and is "not police work". This officer defines his job through what he is doing rather than by meeting the goal or objective of his work. Interviewing, mediating or making a referral to a social agency is seen as "social work". Police work is seen as being in the cruiser, on patrol, waiting to respond to a crime call. This is the "on the surface" response of many traditional police officers.

Sustained contact with police officers and familiarity with the literature, however, suggest that below the surface is a variety of other reasons why such an officer resists changes in his or her approach to handling family dispute calls:

1. The calls do not fall under the general area of street policing--the police officers are literally on "someone else's turf," where they feel a little uneasy. Rights of entry can present legal problems and even when this is not an issue, being in someone else's home subtly shifts the power balance from the officer to the homeowner, an uncomfortable shift for the traditional officer who is used to dealing from a position of power.

2. Such calls often involve emotionally disturbed people, which many officers find discomfiting and somewhat embarrassing, especially when personal "emotional" material is used as a weapon in verbal disputes between intimates.

3. In many cases, the dispute strikes the officers, either consciously or not, as being similar to a personal dispute they may have had, or may be having, in their own family. To the extent that the similarity is not conscious, it can create problems for the officers both in their inability to maintain neutrality in handling the dispute and in the aggravation of their own domestic problems.

4. Untrained officers often lack a sense of control in family disputes. Their own perceived control in the situation is the use of authority and toughness, but this often leads to violence touched off by the officer's own behaviour.[30] In other words, the rules that work for the officer in the street often backfire in a family dispute. The untrained officer does not have workable rules or alternative sources of control for these situations, such as the use of a variety of verbal and non-verbal techniques that can be imparted during the training.

5. Untrained officers usually derive no feelings of accomplishment from handling family disputes. When police are called back to the same address time after time a feeling of futility is created. While some of these families may be locked into a chronic fight pattern, many others can be dealt with more successfully by trained police. In addition, many departments try to change policy on family dispute handling through training alone, without an accompanying change in the departmental reward system. In such instances the correct application by the officer of proper intervention procedures goes unrecognized and unrewarded. Police department reward criteria continue to support the traditional police role and the end result may be that training effects are lost.

6. Effective family dispute intervention requires some interpersonal sensitivity and verbal skills, neither of which normally characterizes the traditional police role. Yet no one would argue that a police officer's general performance would not improve through the acquisition of these skills.

7. Some police think that laying charges in a family assault is futile because the injured party will not carry through on the charges after the crisis has passed, but alternative

means of clearing the call are, by some twist of logic, similarly resisted. Police complaints about the lack of achievement they feel in handling domestic calls has some basis in departmental policies and reward systems. Yet these complaints are often not made about other similarly unrewarding parts of the more traditional police role, leading to the inference that they are in part a resistance to role change per se.

8. Probably no aspect of police work other than domestic disputes straddles so precariously the two styles of police response. If an assault is occurring police are expected to act with dispatch, power and authority (the law enforcement response); if a delicate emotional crisis is taking place police are expected to be wise, good at communicating and capable of effecting a resolution (the order maintenance function).

To an extent, these two responses are antagonistic and incompatible. A police officer answering a family dispute call is put in a sort of "double-bind" situation: he can make a mistake by going too far in either direction (if too tough, he can trigger violence; if too soft, he can fail to contain it). Police officers usually enter a family dispute situation without knowing which response will be required of them. This "tight-rope" situation contributes greatly to the tension the officer feels in such situations. The training procedures described in this report attempt to remedy this dilemma by teaching police how to maximize their information about a dispute in progress, prior to their entry.

The net effect may be to create in the untrained officer a feeling of anxiety, lack of control, unease, and futility in handling family dispute calls. Therefore, each training session

must deal openly with all these factors, plus any others that officers will volunteer in an "open forum" atmosphere. Failure to do so leads to officers keeping their opposition private, but passively resisting the skills, insights and perspectives offered in the training workshop.

Managerial-Bureaucratic Resistance

Even if the general job-related opposition outlined above is dealt with in the training workshop, an effective family dispute programme can be adversely affected by managerial-bureaucratic resistance to full implementation of a programme.

An attitude survey of trained and untrained officers provides considerable evidence for the success of the training programme in changing police perceptions, attitudes and behaviours in family dispute situations.[31] Trained recruits were more likely to negotiate settlements of conflicts or to make referrals to outside agencies, were more satisfied both with their training for family disputes and their accomplishments in handling disputes, reported less violence toward themselves and less use of force against citizens after training, and greater citizen receptivity and satisfaction with police performance (as compared with pre-training experience). These results held for trained recruits up to seven months after graduation from training. (Longer time periods were not tested.) Hence the results of the training *per se* appear quite positive. Trained teams used referral to social agencies more than untrained teams and no police officer was injured handling family disputes during the three year period from the inception of the training.

A follow-up study on departmental procedures for handling domestic disputes, however, revealed that at the organizational level there had been little change in pre-training indices.[32,33] There was, until the end of the project, no change in the unsatisfactory screening of requests for service at the police switch-

board, no change in departmental recognition of exemplary service by officers in handling disputes, and no change in the somewhat inconsistent application of priority codes assigned to domestic disputes. These data suggest that the training project succeeded but that necessary changes in the police department bureaucracy did not take place.

This identifies a crucial problem: personnel in charge of training rarely are in a position to bring about change in departmental policy. If these changes do not occur, much of what has been gained through innovative training techniques may eventually be lost as new recruits get "re-socialized" into the traditional procedures. The conflict management training had the full support of the Deputy Chief and many of the Chief Inspectors. The failure was more likely related to middle-management resistance to the programme, a phenomenon documented elsewhere.[34,35,36]

Innovative programmes such as family crisis intervention, if set up outside the formal chain of command, function to exclude members of the middle-management force from the planning stages.[37] When the programme reaches the implementation stage, that initial exclusion comes back to haunt as the middle managers, feeling deprived of control and undercut, take little interest in supporting or reinforcing the programme.

Sandler (1975)[38] analysed a variety of bureaucratic resistances to innovative programmes in police departments. She concluded that such programmes "cannot be appended to police organizations. Rather, they must be assimilated into these organizations. That is, they must be examined for their philosophical and behavioural implications and then reinforced at every point in the organizational structure."[39]

Sandler maintains that the management of innovation in police departments requires a number of steps:

a) analysis of the philosophical and behavioural goals and implications of the programme;

b) analysis of the existing organization and its consistency with the programme;

c) analysis of key points of resistance and blockages within the organization; and

d) introduction of necessary organizational supports for the programme.

For example, a crisis intervention programme implies a police model whereby an officer's authority derives more from his or her interpersonal skills than from his or her possession of the legitimate use of force. This human relations/community relations model of a police officer represents a shift from the procedure-oriented/authoritarian/military model. To the extent that these basic philosophical differences are not resolved, Sandler suggests, innovative programmes will fail.

A further argument presented by Sandler is that existing paramilitary police organizations, while serving certain functions, are dysfunctional in that they lead to cynicism (due to what is perceived as arbitary decisions by superiors) and demoralization (due to lack of participation in major decisions by those further down the hierarchy, and a one-way direction of communication which makes the airing of grievances unlikely). The end result in such organizations can be the sabotaging of change efforts as a means of "getting even" and restoring one's personal sense of power within the organization.

In addition, paramilitary police organizations tend to focus on procedures and productivity which a focus on the "law-enforcement" aspect of police work, the quantitative approach to performance evaluation with its heavy emphasis on arrest and summons, and the use of crime statistics as a measure of police effectiveness. Such structural factors are antithetical to the requirements of crisis intervention programmes, and preclude a reward system that is unrelated to arrest.

Furthermore, specific middle-management opposition may exist. Middle-managers are evaluated almost exclusively on the productivity of their commands. When productivity is traditionally defined, they are not likely to feel comfortable with programmes (such as crisis intervention) which at first glance appear to reduce productivity. At the same time, middle-managers have been socialized into a value system which may make them skeptical of the feasibility and appropriateness of crisis management programmes.

Patrol supervisors who receive policy from middle-managers (along with a mixed message as to its feasibility) may represent a second line of resistance due to similar pressures. Because patrol supervisors control officers' performance evaluations and recommendations for promotion, their lack of support is a major obstacle to implementation. Officers take their cues from patrol supervisors and act accordingly. When no organizational support is forthcoming, the officer is unlikely to give crisis intervention a top priority.

This leads to situations in which aspects of the job requiring crisis management skills are relegated to a low status and fobbed off on "special units", female officers, or split off in some other way from the "main function" of policing (i.e., law enforcement). This is another reason why the programme presented here takes a generalist approach. Studies in New York and San Francisco[40] support Sandler's contention; in both cities police

members of special squads were harrassed by other officers because they were "not doing police work." Failure to align the philosophy of the department and the new programme completely undermined the programme.

Societal Resistance to Family Crisis Intervention

There are some fundamental societal attitudes that should be noted. The three broad attitudinal categories to be examined here are (a) public attitudes toward violence, (b) male attitudes toward women, and (c) attitudes toward interference with violence directed at spouses.

(a) Public Attitudes Towards Violence

Between 33% and 50% of homicides occur between intimates, yet there has been great reluctance on the part of the public to recognize this problem.[41,42,43] Most homicides, especially domestic homicides, are committed by people who have no other criminal records for violent crime.[44] Thus the belief by citizens that violent crime is usually committed by people who are "different" from themselves allows them to ignore their own potential for violence. Acknowledging domestic violence as a problem breaks down the distinction between criminal and upstanding middle-class citizens, and forces[45] society to accept the "violence potential" of intimate relationships. Over one-third of "happily married" couples reported physical fights in a one year period prior to a survey.[46]

(b) Male Attitudes Toward Women

Although our society is currently undergoing a change in the status of women and in male attitudes toward females, old attitudes linger. The attitude of some males that violence toward women is justified as a means of control underlies the widespread

incidence of domestic violence.[47,48,49] These attitudes sometimes result in violence in immigrant families where the male adheres to the older, traditional male-dominant values and the females (spouses, daughters) opt for the more egalitarian values of the "new land".

(c) Attitudes Toward Violence Directed at Spouses

There is general public reluctance to interfere in domestic conflicts, which the police may reflect. A recent study,[50] in which staged man-woman fights were used to study the likelihood of witnesses to intervene, found that 69% did so when they believed that the fight was between strangers but only 19% when an identical fight was believed to be between spouses. Witnesses were interviewed later and reported that, if they perceived the man attacking the woman to be her husband, they believed her to be in less danger, less likely to want help, less likely to help them fight off the man and the man more likely to put up a fight. Hence the same assault was seen as less severe when occurring between spouses.

The attitudes outlined above have hindered effective family dispute intervention. However, there is evidence of change. A class action brought against the New York Police Department (N.Y.P.D.) by the Litigation Coalition for Battered Women resulted in an agreement by the N.Y.P.D. to arrest a man for felonious assault against his wife if there were reasonable cause to believe it had occurred.[51] The thrust of this movement is to treat an assault as an assault regardless of the relationship between the parties. It is important for the police to be aware of these public attitudes.

SECTION SIX

PROGRAMME EVALUATION

To assess the impact of crisis intervention training, police managers must collect "baseline" information about the way in which patrol officers do their work. The department should articulate the goals and expectations of crisis intervention training in terms of changes in the baseline measurements. Police departments should know:

(1) The timing and frequency of requests for police intervention in domestic disputes and the police response rate (the proportion of calls attended);

(2) The time spent by police officers in handling domestic calls and the outcome (type of clearance) of their intervention--keep the peace, referral, charge, arrest, etc.;

(3) The history of police injury, assault on officers, and violence associated with domestic calls;

(4) The number of repeat interventions in the same family conflict situation.

Given the existence of basic performance recording procedures and baseline data, there is a variety of ways of evaluating programme impact. These range from comparing the advantages of the training per se through comparison of trained and untrained officers, to examining organizational change on a broader scale. Prototype studies of each sort exist in the literature and their designs may be copied.[52,53,54]

In the evaluation of the Vancouver crisis management programme, Dutton and Levens (1977) undertook a survey of 50 trained recruits with varying lengths of time on the job since graduation

(from 2 weeks to 7 months), and 20 experienced (but untrained) officers with an average time on the job of nine years. All officers were interviewed during shift changes and answered a 31-item questionnaire measuring intervention procedures used, attitudes toward social scientists providing police training, attitudes towards handling domestic calls and people involved in domestic conflict, attitudes toward social agencies, and perceptions of danger, alcohol use and their own ability to control domestic crisis situations.

Dutton and Levens found that trained recruits were more likely to negotiate (mediate) settlements or refer to outside agencies than untrained recruits, felt a greater sense of accomplishment on family crisis calls and greater willingness to get involved in such calls, were less likely to hold negative attitudes toward social agencies, reported decreases in violence and the use of force after training, and reported increases in citizen receptivity and satisfaction with their own performance (after training). None of these results disappeared over the seven months following the training. A copy of the questionnaire used by Dutton and Levens is included (Appendix 4) and may be used or amended in similar evaluations.

With regard to injury statistics and repeat calls, comparisons with a six-month to one-year pre-training period will provide an ample assessment of impact. Pre and post-training differences can be used as the basis for programme evaluation.

General studies of the entire agency response have been conducted by the Police Foundation[55] and Levens.[56] The Police Foundation study examined predictor variables for domestic violence; Levens and Dutton looked at the likelihood of calls being accepted and cars dispatched and the response time. They attempted to follow up calls in order to examine success rates of police referrals to social agencies. In the Levens and Dutton

evaluation follow-up studies were made difficult by police recording systems which listed the call at random by the complainant's name, a family member's name, or the disputant's name, and by the reluctance of social agencies to allow access to confidential information. Hence, "success rates" and client satisfaction measures were not obtained. However, some measures of the bureaucratic response of the Vancouver Police Department to family crisis intervention were obtained. They showed:

(a) there was no change in the unsatisfactory screening and dispatching of, dispute calls (some trained "com-ops" had left the department and had been replaced by untrained "com-ops"),

(b) trained patrol teams used referral agencies more often than untrained teams,

(c) injuries were low, and

(d) alcohol use by disputants was reported 50 to 66% of the time.

A fuller reading of the research done by Levens, and by Levens and Dutton, reveals a family crisis intervention programme which was a success at the training level but which was not fully accepted and implemented by mid-management. Many of the gains generated by the training programme appeared to be lost through failures to involve mid-management and a failure to integrate the philosophy of the training programme into the overall philosophy of the department. Careful attention to Sections Four, Five and Six of this report may alleviate these shortcomings in future attempts to develop this innovative programme in other departments.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 The term conflict management is used interchangeably throughout this package with its widely used variants domestic dispute, and family crisis, intervention.

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[17] Liebman, D., & Schwartz, J. Police programs in domestic crisis intervention: A review. In J.R. Snibbe & H.M. Snibbe (Eds.), The urban policeman in transition. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1972.

[18] For an overview see Levens, B.R. A literature review of domestic dispute intervention training programmes. Op. cit., appendix 1. Levens found 17 out of 21 police departments he surveyed were using generalist models.

[19] In Dutton, D., & Levens, B.R. Op. cit., Vol. 1, No. 2.

[20] Levens, B.R. Op. cit., Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 224.

[21] A repertoire of personal anecdotes about police crisis intervention probably helps a civilian's credibility as much as anything else.

[22] New video tape editing techniques make possible various slow motion sequences in the middle of normal motion tape. These are especially useful in demonstrating the effects of various proxemic or non-verbal behaviour sequences of police on citizens.

[23] See Bower, S.A., & Bower, G.H. Asserting yourself: A practical guide for positive change. Menol Park, California: Addison-Wesly, 1976.

[24] Dutton, D. Domestic dispute intervention for police. Available from West Coast Social and Behavioural Enterprises Limited, 1975 McNicoll Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 1A7. 1977.

[25] See Loving, N., & Farmer, M.T. Police handling of spouse abuse and wife beating calls: A guide for police managers. Police Executive Research Forum, 1909 K Street N.W., Suite 420, Washington, D.C., 1979, pp. 69-76.

[26] In this regard some agencies have developed referral cards which may be carried by police and given out to facilitate client introductions for service. Where there are available their use should be dealt with in the course. A more complete discussion of referral techniques can be found in Levens, B.R. Op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 311-328.

[27] Levens, B.R. Op. cit. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 309-311. Levens, B.R. A literature review of domestic dispute intervention training programmes. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 2, Nos. 2 and 3, 1978. City of Winnipeg, Police School, Training Manual, 1976.

[28] See also Levens, B.R. Domestic disputes, police response and social agency referral. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1978.

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[39] Sandler, G.B. Op. cit. p. 2.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

BACKGROUND READING FOR FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION

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APPENDIX 2

SIMULATION SCENARIOS

Dispute #1

Scene: 5:30 p.m. Sunday, front yard.

Cast: Male, 51, labourer, married with 6 children.
Male, 33 junior executive, unmarried.
Neighbours for 2 years, have never spoken to each other.

Scenario: Woman phones to report a fight in progress in front yard of neighbour's house. When police arrive, two men are at fence arguing loudly.

Script: A complains that B has wild noisy parties all the time.
B complains that A doesn't take care of his yard, kids, or dog.

Dispute #2

Scene: 7:30 p.m. Wednesday, front room.

Cast: Male, 72, retired, complainant.
Male 57, businessman.
Neighbours for 8 years, previous arguments.

Scenario: Woman phones (wife of one of the disputants) to complain of man invading their house and creating a disturbance.
Car dispatched, with back-up unit.

Script: A complaining that B entered home and won't leave.
B wants A to prune his trees which are rubbing tiles off his garage.

Dispute #3

Scene: 2:30 a.m. Sunday, front room.

Cast: Male, 27, labourer.
Male, 33, executive.
A and B live together.

Scenario: Neighbour phones to complain about two people arguing and throwing things in next door apartment.

Script: A complaining that B is overreacting too possessive, and too jealous.
B complaining that A is unfaithful, a "two-timer".

Dispute #4

Scenario: A variation of #3 with a third party, non-gay male added. He has been invited to the apartment by his labourer friend who does not want it revealed that he is gay. However, the roommate comes home early from a convention and destroys the deception.

Dispute #5

Scene: 3:30 p.m. Sunday, front room.

Cast: Male, 33, labourer.
Male, 33, labourer.

Scenario: Neighbour calls about loud argument (fight) going on next door (apartment). When police arrive, two men are about coming to blows. Have been friends for twenty years.

Script: A complaining that his friend won't pay him the money he owes him on a bet on a footbal game. B complaining that his friend can't remember what the bet was. Both have been drinking considerably.

Dispute #6

Scene: 4:00 p.m. Tuesday, Apartment dwelling.

Cast: Male, 39, unemployed, history of depression.
Female, 36, part-time employee of museum.
They have been married for 17 years.

Scenario: Woman has called police fearing for life of husband who appears suicidal. Wants him in hospital, but he merely sits and stares out of window.

Script: Husband refuses to converse with police, merely mumbles about decay and the rottenness of things.

Dispute #7

Scene: 2:30 a.m. Monday, Private dwelling, living room.

Cast: Husband, 51, labourer.
Wife, 49, housewife.
Boarder, 41, clerk.

Dispute #7 (cont'd)

Scenario: Wife has called police to intervene in argument between husband and boarder, which has involved a few punches being thrown and threatens to escalate into a very violent dispute.

Script: Husband who works late shift has come home early feeling a little sick and has found wife and boarder drinking and kissing on couch. Argument ensues.

Dispute #8

Scene: 10:00 p.m. Saturday, Private dwelling.

Cast: Husband, 35, truck driver.
Wife, 30, housewife.
They have lived common-law for 3 years.

Scenario: Wife has called to report she has been assaulted by her husband. Wants him arrested. When police arrive, loud shouting and hysterical screaming in progress.

Script: Husband and wife have been drinking and arguing all day. Chronic fighers, both blame the other for their own shortcomings ("lay their trips on each other"). Definitely not a happy couple, but both are probably too weak to make it on their own. Police have intervened before and laid charges that were subsequently dropped.

Dispute #9

Scene: 6:00 p.m. Friday, West End apartment.

Cast: Male, 40, university professor.
Female, 30, boutique owner.

Scenario: Neighbour has phoned in noise complaint. Loud arguing from adjacent apartment.

Script: Separated parents of 4 year old male child. Wife has legal custody. Husband allowed to take child one day per week with wife's permission. Wife has just refused to allow child to spend time with husband and new girlfriend on the child's fifth birthday.

Dispute #10

Scene: 8:00 p.m. Friday, Kitsilano, Private dwelling.

Cast: Wife, 35, housewife.
Husband, 35, businessman.
Son, 15, casual worker, school drop-out.

Scenario: Wife has phoned police to report heated argument between her husband and her son. When police arrive, they can hear loud voices, but situation does not appear violent.

Script: Parents are fed-up trying to control behaviour of son; unable to impose discipline and curfews. Concerned about his associates and possible drug-using. Have found a few joints from time to time. Son hassles parents about their smoking, excessive drinking and hypocrisy. Parents want police to throw a scare into son, without hurting him.

Dispute #11

Scene: 10:55 p.m. Friday, east end, Apartment.

Cast: Male, 55, apartment owner, subdivided house.
Male, 27, tenant.
Six to eight poker players.

Scenario: Landlord has called police on tenant. Loud argument in progress at door of upstairs apartment when police arrive.

Script: Landlord complains about poker game in progress and all the smoke in room. Complains about noise, lateness and number of visitors. Downstairs tenant has complained.

Tenant states that he's continually hassled by a downstairs tenant and landlord who is a little crazy, hysterical and an "old world" type. Tenant is very angry and feels his privacy is continuously invaded.

Dispute #12

Scene: 6:00 p.m. Monday, Private dwelling.

Cast: Male, 30, son.
Female, 58, mother.

Dispute #12 (cont'd)

Scenario: Mother has called police as son has returned home after a weekend of drunken debauchery and assaulted mother and yelled at her.

Script: Son sometimes pays rent, most often doesn't. Drinks excessively, minor criminal records, few assault charges - dropped. Hates police. Mother tends to nag and ride her son, but is ineffectual in controlling his behaviour. He is abusive and a bully. She fears him, wants him evicted. He won't leave.

APPENDIX 3

TEAM EVALUATION

	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	FAIL
1. Approach to Scene:				
a. Cautious approach-haste?				
b. Sizing up stairway and/or dwelling.				
c. Position at door.				
d. Listening at door.				
e. Survey prior to entry. (Windows, doors).				
f. Identification and visual frisking.				
2. Entering Scene:				
a. Talking way in.				
b. Visual frisk and scan.				
c. Positioning: Hinge man enters last.				
d. Scoping out of inner environment, and accounting for all occupants.				
e. Preparing for interviewing.				
3. Defusing:				
a. Maintaining control.				
b. Positioning.				
c. Separation of disputants where necessary.				
d. Maintaining contact with partner.				
e. Bringing parties together.				
f. Establishing control.				
g. Special techniques employed - distraction, etc.				

	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	FAIL
4. Interviewing:				
a. Establishing rapport.				
b. Maintaining control.				
c. Maintaining impartiality.				
d. Specific techniques.				
e. Listening responses.				
f. Paraphrases.				
g. Perception checks.				
h. Summarizing.				
5. Mediation:				
a. Maintaining control.				
b. Maintaining neutrality.				
c. Techniques.				
d. Summarizing.				
e. Role reversal.				
6. Referral:				
a. Obtaining agreement.				
b. Making specific referral.				
c. Checking for anxieties and questions.				
d. Answering questions.				
e. Consolidation.				

APPENDIX 4

QUESTIONNAIRE

DOMESTIC CRISIS INTERVENTION STUDY

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

PERSONAL DATA

(1) NAME _____ (2) P.C. No. _____

(3) SEX: MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ (4) AGE _____

(5) B.C. POLICE COLLEGE CLASS NO. _____ N.A. ☐

(6) LENGTH OF TIME ON ACTIVE DUTY
(Vancouver and other police force duty) _____

(7) PRESENT RANK _____

(8) DISTRICT PRESENTLY ASSIGNED TO _____

In the following questions about your work we will often refer to domestic disputes; by this we mean a family fight involving husband-wife or boyfriend-girlfrient, or a parent-child problem; a landlord tenant dispute or a neighbour disturbance.

Now,

1. How many such domestic disputes do you get called to in an average week?

.....

.....
(No domestics attended - terminater interview)

2. What time of day and week do most of them occur?

Time of day: .....

Day(s) of week .....

3. What do you think are the main causes of domestic disturbances?

.....

.....

.....
(Probe: any others?)

.....

.....

4. In approximately what percentage of domestic calls would you say that alcohol is involved?

.....

5. In what percentage of domestic calls where alcohol was involved did its use affect your handling of the situation?

.....

6. Thinking now just about family disputes, which statement best decribes what you think about who is to blame for starting them. (Show Card A)

- Women mainly to blame ☐
- Women often to blame ☐
- Sometimes men/sometimes women ☐
- Men often to blame ☐
- Men mainly to blame ☐

7. Here are a number of ways to describing domestic crisis intervention -- which one do you think is <u>the one</u> which fits best? (Show Card B)

- ☐ Social Work
- ☐ Police service work/Keeping the peace
- ☐ Preventative policing
- ☐ Law enforcement

8. Given that you answer, say, 100 domestic calls, how many might you clear by each of these methods? (Show Card C and read aloud)

- ☐ Making an arrest
- ☐ Give warning and leave
- ☐ Advise to contact JP and lay charges
- ☐ Negotiate settlement of problem
- ☐ Refer to social agency/worker

☐ Remove one party

☐ Other (specify) .....

.....

9. What has been your experience with social agencies to whom you have made referrals? Would you say it has been: (Read all responses before checking appropriate box.)

☐ Extremely favourable

☐ Favourable

☐ Sometimes o.k., sometimes not

☐ Unfavourable

☐ Extremely unfavourable

10. Briefly describe one unfavourable or extremely unfavourable experience with social agencies.

.....

.....

.....

11. Briefly describe one favourable or extremely favourable experience with social agencies.

.....

.....

.....

12. How satisfied are you that your police college training in domestic dispute intervention provided a thorough basis for handling real life calls? (Show Card D)

☐ Very satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Neutral

☐ Dissatisfied

☐ Very dissatisfied

I'm going to read a number of statements about your work and domestic disputes. Tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or stronly disagree with each of them. (Show Card E)

13. It takes more than just a little common sense to deal successfully with a domestic dispute case. (Circle appropriate response.)

SA A N D SD

14. Mental health experts, psychologists and behavioural scientists can generally teach police officers things that will be useful to them in their day-to-day police functions.

SA A N D SD

15. People who get involved in domestic disputes are much the same as most of us.

SA A N D SD

16. If most police officers had a choice, they'd just as soon not have to bother with family fights or domestic disturbances.

SA A N D SD

17. A patrolman is more likely to get hurt dealing with a domestic disturbance or family fight than in dealing with any other kind of call.

SA A N D SD

18. Often with two neighbours who are battling constantly it is better to bring them together and spend some time getting agreement on the issue rather than to simply cool down the situation for that evening and leave.

SA A N D SD

19. Couples who get into a physical fight would be better off living apart.

SA A N D SD

20. There is little point in trying to make referrals to social agencies because they're never open when you really need them.

SA A N D SD

21. Usually in family fights you can figure out who's to blame soon after you're in the door.

SA A N D SD

22. The best way to get a handle on the situation is to separate the people and let the more talkative one tell you what happened.

SA A N D SD

23. Often the best thing an officer can do for people is just ot cool them down and give them a little advice on how to handle their problem.

SA A N D SD

24. Police often shirk their responsibility by refusing to lay charges against a husband who has clearly beaten his wife.

SA A N D SD

25. There is more the police can do with people on domestic calls compared to what can be accomplished in other aspects of the job.

SA A N D SD

26. The police should only get involved in domestic disputes when there are children in danger.

SA A N D SD

27. (Show Card F) Listed on this card are six pairs of words commonly used to describe people. Each pair is separated by five scale positions. We want you to use the scales to describe people who have domestic disputes. For each pair give me a number from 1 to 5 depending on the degree to which you think one of the pairs describes the disputants. (In the example, if you think disputants are tall then position 1 is the answer, if short then 5, if medium height then, 3, etc.)

	1	2	3	4	5	
Intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Dull
High Income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Low Income
Old	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Young
Law breaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Law abiding
White	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Non-white
Non-English speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	English speaking

(Interviewer: Questions 28, 29, 30 and 31 should only be asked of officers who graduated from B.C. Police College in the last year - check if a class no. is given in Personnal Data.)

28. In what ways did your police college training in handling domestic disputes affect the ways you feel about the aspect of your work?

.....

.....

.....

(N.B. After waiting for a free response, Probe

- did it affect the way you feel about safety
- did it affect your self assurance
- did it affect your perceptions of the worth of this aspect of your job.)

29. On handling domestic calls, how often do you make use of the skills taught in the police college course?

Never	☐	Probe: Why is that?
Seldom	☐	
Sometimes	☐	Probe: Explain the circumstances in which you would not use the skills taught.
Often	☐	
Always	☐	

30. During the period following the completion of domestic crisis training have you experienced an increase, decrease or no change in each of the following (as compared to before this training took place).

Increase	Decrease	No Change	
☐	☐	☐	The amount of violence directed toward you while answering a call.

Increase	Decrease	No Change	
☐	☐	☐	The use of arrest of one or more disputants to clear a call.
☐	☐	☐	The use of physical force to re-establish order in a situation.
☐	☐	☐	The satisfaction with your own performance in domestic situations.
☐	☐	☐	The citizen's receptiveness to your intervention.

31. How often do you find the skills that you were taught in the domestic dispute intervention course to be applicable when responding to other kinds of calls?

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Date of interview: _____

Interviewer: _____

Interviewer Comments: